

THE
PARADOX:

OR, AN
ARGUMENT

That we are
In Danger of *POPERY*.

Second Conference.



L O N D O N :
Printed for J. ROBERTS, in *Warwick-*
Lane. 1725. (Price Six pence.)

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P A R A D O X :

O R A N

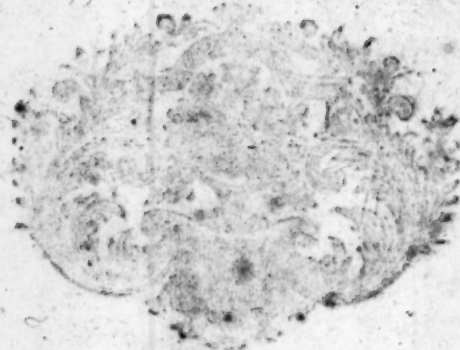
A R G U M E N T

THE NEW



in Danger

Second Conference



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in effect adds, both Jews and Gentiles would
perfect it: Whereas the Heathen World by



THE PARADOX.

Second Conference.

SIR,



E met the next Day at Mr. *Chur-Lowman*
chil's House, as we had resolv'd,
and I proceeded to give my other
Reasons, why the prevailing of
Popery was highly probable; but
Reasons founded still, as the former, upon the
difference of the two Spirits.

You may remember, said I, that Yesterday
the first Difference I insisted on was, that the
Spirit of Popery did unite, and that of the
Reformation did divide; as the Spirit of Chri-
stianity did in the Primitive Times, which our
Saviour foretold it would do; because, which he

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in effect adds, both *Jews* and *Gentiles* would persecute it : Whereas the Heathen World by mutual Toleration in Matters of Opinion, had till then kept Peace and Union amongst themselves ; every Man chusing his own Temple or Grove, and sacrificing in it, in the manner he liked best ; in which respect Paganism is indeed preferable to Popery, and more agreeable to the Spirit of Christianity ; for Popery unites chiefly by extirpating Opposition, *Solitudinem faciunt & pacem appellant*, says the *Roman* of such a Spirit as theirs.

The next Difference that I spoke to was, that the Spirit of Popery was a converting or proselyting Spirit, and spared no pains, nor trouble imaginable, nor omitted any means lawful, or unlawful to succeed in doing it ; whereas the Spirit of the Reformation, would hardly be at any trouble at all to make Converts ; and used no means but Argument or Persuasion, and even rarely did so much.

Freeborn.

And indeed, said *Freeborn*, considering the small difference there appears in Men's Lives or Morals, how considerable soever the difference be in their Opinions ; and also considering how great Allowance, no doubt, will be made for the Errors of Mankind in Matters of Opinion, that are not voluntary, or, as the Apostle speaks, *Works of the Flesh*, but the necessary unavoidable Effects, or Consequences of Birth, Education, Prejudices, Times and Places, and other Accidents, or Circumstances that a Man is not at all master of ; it's very natural for Men of Thought, not to be over-warm in the pursuit of Conversions, unless there be room for some Passion or other, as

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Bigotry, Vanity, or Interest, which is the Case of the Missionaries: for why should one endeavour to make a Man change, which he rarely can do sincerely, if not to make him a better Man, which is not the Case of one in ten; or to rescue him from certain Ruin, which is not the Case at all, unless we suppose him a bad Man, who by the change is made a good Man? which, as I have said, Experience teacheth, is rarely the Consequence of changing; for to put a Man in a better and safer Way, which is all that is pretended to be done by Changes, what does that amount to, unless he'll walk in that Way? It is, indeed, a Favour done an honest Man, to put him in a right Way; for it is an help and an ease to him; tho', after all, such a Man's own Way never fails to bring him home at last.

But to proceed: You know, said I, that I have *Lowman.* all along affirm'd, or at least intimated, that this uniting and converting Spirit of Popery, was indeed the true Spirit of Persecution, the sanguinary, violent, anti-christian, tyrannical Spirit, that converts or unites by Extirpation or Destruction, either of Soul or Body; which Spirit of Persecution among the *R. Cs.* and the contrary Spirit of Toleration amongst the *Protestants*, shall be my Subject at present, and indeed of all that I intend to say for finishing the Reasons of the first Class.

The Spirit of Popery, continu'd I, is the Spirit of absolute Power, imperious and arbitrary, as absolute Power is usually every where, except in the case of a Prince, extraordinary both for Capacity and Goodness, who is a Law, and sets Bounds to himself: Such a Prince is an Angel of God, the greatest Blessing a Peo-

ple can expect in this State; and his Government is like that of Heaven itself, the best of Governments, could it but last.

Freeborn.

Well added, said *Freeborn*; nay, it must be own'd, continued he, that absolute Power in Church-men is yet worse than in Lay-men: for Church-men, we see, can deceive themselves in putting off all Bowels of Nature and Humanity, by imagining that what they are about is the Cause of God, and so making all their own Concerns or Interests and Passions, a part of that Cause; and which is lamentable, good Men amongst them (I mean otherwise good) are often more subject to be thus blinded than bad Men, who like Lay-men, generally speaking, that are not Slaves to Priests, act by the impulse of Flesh and Blood, that barely prefers itself, or not, upon occasion, without any more ado; I would say, without flying in the face of Reason, or stifling Nature and Humanity, to which purpose I can't but mention a common Observation amongst the *French Refugees*, that those of them who left their Jewels, or Plate, or any other Trust in the Hands of Rakes and Gamesters, or other *Bons vivans*, amongst the *R. Cs*, had every thing more faithfully sent after them, than those who trusted Men of Religion and Virtue amongst them. Why those last thought themselves oblig'd in Conscience to tell all to their Confessors, and their Confessors oblig'd them under pain of Damnation, to make a discovery to the Magistrate, and so betray their Trust. Thus Religion, the Design of which was to exalt and perfect, whatever is good in Humane Nature, is prostituted to be a handle for debasing and corrupting it.

But

But the great Instance of this, continu'd he, and which is directly to your purpose Mr. Lowman, is the Inquisition; a Tribunal, which no Court of Justice amongst Laymen ever did, or can come up to in the monstrous Cruelty and Barbarity of their Proceedings: and all this done in the name of Christ, without any (but contrary) Orders from him; who wou'd have the Tares let grow, &c. and whose Character throughout the History of his whole Life is that of the gentlest, the mildest, the most compassionate and best natur'd, of all the Sons of Adam: so that to make him the Author of such deliberate or cold-blood Barbarity, as exceeds that of all the Tyrants that have ever been in the World, and not for bad Deeds neither; but for bare harmless Thought, (to others at least) whether right or wrong; and which no Man, after all, is Master of; is the most prodigious piece of Villany, and the most outrageous to our Saviour, that ever enter'd, or cou'd enter into the Imagination of the Heart of Man.

The truth is, if this Spirit (said I) be not *Lowman*. Antichrist himself, as in all appearance, and according to the Character given of him, it must be, come he (or they, if he be Legion) when he will, he cannot possibly bring along with him a Spirit more diametrically opposite to that of our Saviour, as I said the other day.

The Court of *Rome*, far from being insensible of this, employ'd in the last Age the smooth Pen of Cardinal *Palavicini* to palliate the matter. The Gospel of our Saviour, says he, was suited to the Infant State of the Church: our Saviour fed the Children with Milk, they cou'd

cou'd not digest Meat; but now the Church being of Age, or in an adult State, which requires stronger Nourishment, must have quite another Diet: All which an honest Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, to expose the Court of *Rome*, publish'd under the Title of *Nouvel Evangille*. And to say but one word to it, pray was there ever such strong Food known, and so hard of Digestion, as that wherewith our Saviour himself fed his Followers, those Infants of his, in proclaiming to them, that whoever wou'd be his Disciple, must take up his Cross and follow him? that is, must imitate him in resolving to suffer all the Evils that Humane Nature was capable of, even Death itself, or which is yet more intolerable, a Life expos'd to Ignominy, Pain, Poverty, Contempt and Disgrace; nay, to all the Miseries that are consistent with Life, and which the Heart of Men or Devils cou'd invent and inflict: a new way of Profelyting, it must be own'd, and unknown to former Ages, and which, sure, will never be imitated, unless, he, the Author of it, come and act it over again: however, he knew it wou'd do, and we see it has done. But pray, said

Freeborn.

Mr. Freeborn how wou'd this do with their Eminencies? no; they may be excus'd, for seeking out a new way, if they can find one: This sure is not a Path for them to walk in.

Lowman.

But to proceed, said I, on the other hand, in opposition to all that has been said of the persecuting Spirit of Popery; the Spirit of the Reformation being the true Spirit of primitive Christianity (tho' with Allays of another Nature, as being founded on the Scriptures, or the Character, Doctrine, and Example of Christ

Christ and his Apostles, and their immediate Followers, whose Lot it was, not to persecute, but to suffer and be persecuted: *Ye know not what Spirit ye are of*, said he, when his Disciples were for Fire and Faggot. And tho' they were for it from Heaven, said Mr. Freeborn, *Freeborn* which cou'd authorize it, and not for it, as Popery brings it from Hell without any Authority at all, but in direct Opposition both to Reason and Religion, whether natural or reveal'd.

Such (I added) was, or shou'd have been *Lowman* the Spirit of the Reformation; but as it appears, Grace did not destroy Nature, even in the Disciples; so neither were they all Saints that left the Church of Rome, but Flesh and Blood; who, tho' no longer of that Communion, had brought along with them the Dregs of Habits, which they had contracted in it.

It must be own'd, the Protestants in the first heat of ungovernable Zeal upon their Separation from the Church of Rome, when they were under no Discipline nor Restraint, were guilty of great Irregularities, as in depriving the Church of her Revenues, at least, in not appropriating them to pious and charitable Uses as to Provisions; for the Poor and for Schools, and other Seminaries of Learning and Education, and particularly for the better support of the inferior Clergy, who bear the Burden and Heat of the Day,

Nay, I must add, that great Violences were in many Places done against the R. C. but it's true too, that they were done by the unruly Mob of all persuasions, who love Rapine and Disorder, or by military Men in times of Blood and Confusion, before Matters
bad
were

were compos'd or brought to any Order or Settlement; and it was natural for such Men to think, that it was not possible any other way, to put a stop to the Rage and Fury of Popery in those times, but by Retaliation and Reprisals; and which indeed is for the great Honour of the Reformation, such unjustifiable Proceedings of the Protestants were singular Instances, and not only never approved of, but openly disown'd by the body of the Reformers, and the Authors of them often as severely punish'd, as the Condition of those times wou'd permit.

Did not those of the Reformation, both *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* in *Germany*, join with the *R. C s.* in suppressing the wild *Anabaptists* at *Munster*, and other Fanaticks in that Country? and did they not the like in *Flanders* against the violent Breakers of Images and Defacers of Churches? Did not Prince *William* the First, of *Orange*, with the hazard of his Life, drive the Incendiaries amongst the Protestants out of the Town of *Ghent*; who by their Violences against the *R. C s.* lost to the Union the ten Provinces? And did he not seize the Count *Vandermare*, who commanded the Protestant Army in the seven Provinces, and got him banish'd the Country for the barbarous Cruelties he had committed upon the *R. C s.* He indeed prevail'd with the States, to be satisfy'd with hanging his Steward, (the great Instrument of his Cruelties) for an Example and Terror to others, and to give him his Life at the Intercession of the Army, with whom *Vandermare* had a great Interest, and on account of the signal Services he had

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had done: for it was he that had seiz'd on the *Brill*, which gave the first Check to the Duke of *Alva's* Cruelties, and indeed, a favourable turn to the whole Affairs of the seven Provinces. But this Clemency in Prince *William*, was so far from being the effect of any want of a due Sense of what *Vandermarc* deserv'd, that as *Brandt* informs us, he cou'd not abstain from Tears, upon his hearing of *Vandermarc's* having first tortur'd and then put to death, without Law or Form of Law, or any pretended Crime, the Prior of *St. Agatha* in *Delft*, a Man venerable for his great Age, and many good Qualities; with whom, Prince *William* had always lodg'd when at *Delft*, and who had nothing wrong in him but his Religion; for he had join'd all along with the Protestants in the Cause of Liberty against the *Spaniards*. It's a pity that the Writer of the Essay upon Prince *William's* last Words, (a curious and singular piece in its kind) did either not know, or forget this Instance of the tender and compassionate Nature of that Prince, to have added it to the other moving Instances he gives.

Here I cannot but add to the same purpose, the Story of the Baron *D'Adrets*, another *Vandermarc* in *France*, who having the Command of the Protestant Troops in *Dauphine* and *Provence*, spared neither Sex nor Age of whoever had the Name of *R. C.* upon which the Prince of *Condee* and Admiral *Coligny*, finding that neither Orders, Persuasion, nor Threatning cou'd restrain him, broke him, which was all they could well do against him. He upon this, shew'd that he had only misapply'd the

Spirit of Popery, for he turn'd R. C. and then re-acted the same Barbarities against the Protestants; but with this difference, that by this, he became the Favourite of his new Party. But all this, as I have said, happened before matters were brought to some Order and Settlement; for after that was once done, you'll find, as I am to observe to you, that neither did the Protestants in *France*, in Towns and Provinces where they were superior, nor those in *Ireland*, when they recovered their Power and got the better, reprise or retaliate upon the R. Cs. for the barbarous Massacres, or Murders of their Friends; nor *Q. Elizabeth* for the Burnings in her Sister's Reign; nor *K. James First*, but by his Pen (his only Weapon) upon the Jesuits for the Gun-powder Plot.

But to proceed, I was saying, when, *Hold*, cry'd Mr. *Freeborn*, interrupting me, even Low-Church is Church I perceive, and has its Tincture. Pray Mr. *Lowman*, did you never give your Oath in a Court of Justice, not only to tell nothing but Truth, but also the whole Truth: we are here at a free Conference; why shou'd any part of the Truth be concealed? I love to hear Truth of all sides, tho' to the disadvantage of my own side; and I dare answer for my Friend *Churchill*, that he'll be so far from blaming the Protestants for Persecution, that he'll highly praise 'em for it.

Why then Mr. *Lowman* own frankly, or I'll do it for you, that the Protestants, to the great Reproach of the Reformation, have in the Spirit of Popery, and in contradiction to those Principles upon which they separated from the Church of *Rome*; that is, Conscience

ence and private Judgment, persecuted Protestants, or one another, for differences in Opinion about matters of Religion, tho' not so much at first, when they had work enough to defend themselves against the R. C. as when matters were settled, and they came to have power in their hands: nor do I say this with any design to reproach in particular the Church of *England* upon this account; for I know it is your Concern to vindicate it, either by justifying any degree of Persecution they have been engag'd in, your way Mr. Churchill, or by laying the blame on Popery, or Popish Princes, as *Charles* the Second, and *James* the Second; or Protestant Princes that have had Designs, as Prince *Maurice*, and others, your way, Mr. Lowman.

No, said he, turning to me, tho' there be much Truth in what you say, and that in a great measure you are in the Right, as my Friend here is intirely in the Wrong; I am for putting the Saddle upon the right Horse: for no Clergy, whether Popish or Protestant, of Church or Kirk, or Congregation, can bear much, or Independent Power; and unless the Magistrate do his Duty in restraining them, all of 'em will persecute when they are uppermost, and rail against Persecution, when they are undermost; as Dissenters do against Uniformity, tho' that be their Idol, give them but Reins.

The Experience of all Ages proves undeniably the Truth of what I have said, and particularly our own Experience since the Reformation: Have not Church and Kirk, and those of other Sects, had their turns of persecuting,

which we all know both at home and abroad? Did not Presbytery exert itself at *Dort*, as well as in *Scotland*? And have not the Anabaptists shew'd themselves at *Munster*, and the Independants been glorious in *New-England*: not only refus'd to tolerate others, but giving one another by the Lump to the Devil, upon a Difference about the Colour of *Aaron's Beard*, whether blue or green, I suppose? And has not the New Man in *Pensylvania* been often in a fair way, to shew that the Old Man had not been so long dead but that he might recover again? I have often thought him not much in the wrong, who said, that amongst other Reasons our Saviour had, to have no Kingdom in this World, he suppos'd, one was, that he knew his Ministry was not fit to manage it; or if they were, wou'd turn upon him, and manage it against him, as the Court of *Rome*, and all Churchmen in power, of what denomination soever, have hitherto done, and will ever do, when the Magistrate neglects to do his Duty.

Lowman. Now you may go on, said Mr. *Freeborn* to me. It must be own'd, said I, you have used all alike, which I hope will please Mr. *Churchill*.

Churchill. No doubt, said Mr. *Churchill* to me; for to tell you the Truth, I did not expect such Impartiality from my Friend, but that according to his usual Custom, he wou'd have shot all his Bolts upon the Church alone.

Lowman. But said I, it was enough for my purpose to shew as I am going to do by particular Instances, that the Spirit of the Reformation is not for persecuting *R. Cs.* but for tolerating them (if they live peaceably) in the private Exercise of their Religion; nay, even in the publick Exercise of it in some Places, as in

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Ireland, and the Cantons of *Appenzel* and *Glarus*, where the Protestants are the Majority, and in many Protestant Countries in *Germany*; and thus to show the Danger we are in of Popery, that persecutes where-ever it can: And as for Protestants persecuting Protestants, it's true, they have not always known *what Spirit they were of*, as I hope they do now; and there will be an occasion to talk of Toleration, and possibly to reconcile Mr. *Churchill* to it; for I am as far from being for an unbounded Toleration or Libertinism, in place of Indulgence for tender Consciences, as he is, no more than I am for Licentiousness instead of Liberty, or for no Power (moderate, necessary Power) in Church-men in place of Discipline.

To proceed then, as I intended, had not you, Mr. *Freeborn*, interrupted me, the avow'd Principles, nay, the Maxims and Practice of the Protestants generally speaking, and consequently the Spirit of the Reformation, is not to put Men to death for Differences in Opinion, about Matters of Religion, and much less to break through all Laws divine and humane, by scandalous, and avow'd Breaches of Faith, Massacres, &c. as the Spirit of Popery has openly done; and the infallible Chair has approv'd, and sanctified them by *Te Deums*, and Medals struck to preserve the Memory of such heroic Performances, for an encouragement to Posterity to do the like.

But I'll proceed to other Facts as publick and undeniable as those I have mention'd, and by them compare the two Spirits, and apply the difference to the main point in hand, the Dan-

Danger we are in ; which believe me, I don't at all forget, nor stray from it, even when I seem most to do it.

I ask, then, if the Protestants have any where Courts of Inquisition, or other Courts of Justice establish'd, as the R. Cs. have every where the one or the other ; not for punishing Men's religious Actions only, which indeed Men are masters of, less or more, but their Thoughts also, which they are not masters of ; and for tearing those Thoughts out of their Breasts, by Torture, and all other barbarous means, that the wicked Heart of Man, inflam'd by the blind Zeal of doing God Service, can invent ; but who are indeed serving the Devil, who thus secures to himself the Authors and Instruments of such hellish Practices.

It's undeniable that Human Nature alone, or left to itself, nay to the worst Turn or Byass it is by its own Weight, or without Bigotry capable of, will still be found incapable of such Barbarities ; and therefore, we see in Fact, that the more blind or ignorant Zeal in religious Matters is, the more warm and fierce it is, and consequently the more brutal, or barbarous and unrelenting. Did ever, I don't say Protestants, but Pagans, for Differences about their Idols, or Worship, murder 30 or 40 Millions of innocent, inoffensive People, as the *Spaniards* in the Spirit of their Inquisition have done of *Moors*, *Jews*, *Americans*, and others, in their Opinion, Hereticks, or Infidels ? So that a Man can now travel many Hundreds of Miles in one of the best Countries in the World and which was the most populous, without seeing Man, Woman, or Child of Inhabitants, — *Tantum Re-*

ligio

Religio potuit suadere malorum.— So fatal and destructive, blind or ignorant Zeal, in Matters of Religion, has prov'd to Mankind. And indeed, nothing is more true, than that *Corruptio optimi est pessima*; the bad use of the best things, such as Religion is, renders them the worst.

To proceed: Did ever Protestants commit such Massacres, (or indeed any Massacre) as those in *France* and *Ireland*, and in the Valleys of *Piedmont*, and at *Cabriers* and *Merindale* and elsewhere; as in the War against the *Albigois*; where it is worth remarking, that Father *Dominic* signaliz'd himself: for at the Siege of *Beziers*, the Debate in the Council of War being whether to take the Town by Assault, or by Famine, many inclining to the latter way, for saving the *R. Cs.* that were in it; he determin'd the Point, by assuring them that God would know his own, for which I suppose he was made *St. Dominic*: And at the taking of *Mastricht* 15 or 17 Hundred Women were murder'd; and at *Nagden*, contrary to the Faith and Articles of the Treaty of Surrender, the whole Inhabitants were murder'd in cold blood. And the *Spaniards*, in peaceable Quarters at *Antwerp*, did, in plundering it, murder 17000 People, all as Hereticks that deserved not to live. But it were an endless work to go on with such Instances of Cruelty and Barbarity amongst the *R. Cs.* upon the account of Religion; and for which no parallel Instances can be given amongst the Protestants.

No, but said Mr. *Freeborn*, there are other Instances of *R. C-k* Zeal, that must not be forgot:

got: Did ever any Protestant value himself upon having, in 6 Yearstime, taken the Lives of 18600 Persons by the Hands of the public Executioner, as it's known that Butcher, the Duke of *Alva*, publicly did? Or, did ever any Protestant so much as conceive or form the Thought and Design of so horrid a Wickedness, as that of the *Gun-Powder-Plot*? Some of the main Authors of which, have been put in the popish Martyrologies, and must want Friends, or have been born under unauspicious Constellations, if they are not canoniz'd: The very Thought, continued he, was indeed *Roman*, like that of their Emperor's noble Wish, that *Rome* had but one Neck; unluckily for him, *Gun-powder* was not then found out, or how happy would his Imperial Majesty have been!

And yet notwithstanding all such heinous Doings and Provocations, too strong, one wou'd think, for Flesh and Blood, not to be transported by them; it's true what you told us, said he, turning to me; for neither at *Rochelle*, nor in *Guienne* and *Languedoc*, and other Places where the Protestants were undoubtedly superior, did they either retaliate, or take Reprisals upon the News of the Murder or Massacre of their Friends at *Paris*: Nor did *Q. Elizabeth* punish *Bonner*, or others that had been Inquisitors, nay *Boureaux*, or Torturers and Executioners in her Sister's Reign. Nor did *K. James I.* retaliate upon the Party, or punish others than those that were manifestly guilty of the *Gun-powder Treason*. Nor did the Protestants in *Ireland* punish the tenth Man of those concern'd in the Massacre there. All which, in

in effect, you had already told us : but it can never be too-often told and remembred.

Here Mr. *Churchill* told Mr. *Freeborn*, that *Churchill*, he was glad to hear him say any thing that was good of K. *James I.* For, added he, you used to assure me, that the *Scotch Solomon* had not one good Quality in him ; and to divert yourself with a Story of that ungrateful, republican Rogue his *Preceptor*, which *Mezeray* and *Justal* often told in their Assemblies at *Paris* : By the bye, said he, I never liked the *French Huguenots*, tho' I could not refuse them my Charity ; but it's a Story, (for so he went on) which is not indeed worth telling. Nay, said I, pray tell it, for I want time to breathe, and some Diversion from the Horror of *Massacres*, &c. Nay then, said he, tell it I will ; for if I do not, I know who will. To be sure, said Mr. *Freeborn*, and more too upon occasion. Why then, said Mr. *Churchill*, as the Story goes, which I would not believe, but that I can believe any ill thing of *Buchanan* ; K. *James* at his Levee in *Scotland*, would have the *French Ambassador* to talk *Latin*, which he complying with, and happening to break *Priscian's* Head, the Laugh was against him ; upon which he running out of Court, met *Buchanan* on the Stairs, and reproach'd him for having made a *Pedant* of his *Pupil*. *Pedant*, said *Buchanan*, lifting up his Hands and Eyes, *I thank God that I have made any thing of him.* The scandalous Dog, cried out Mr. *Churchill*, as if some other, and not himself, had told the Story ; had I been present, continued he, I would have made something of him, meaning *Buchanan*, whom he cursed heartily. Here I

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could not but laugh, both at the Story, and the Rage Mr. Churchill had put himself in: when Mr. Freeborn almost made him mad by affirming that he had, after all, told nothing good of K. James; for it was well known, said he, that his Show of Moderation proceeded from his Pusillanimity, or want of Resolution; and that ever after the Fright, which the Thought or Imagination of being blown up, had fix'd on his mind, he courted the R. Cs. Here Mr. Churchill was so full that he could not speak, which gave me time to beg that I might not be any more interrupted. Well, well, said he, foaming, I'll take my own time, and show how you contradict yourself; for upon other occasions it was the Fright he got in his Mother's Belly, at the murder of his pretended Father Rizzì, as you speak, that made ~~the~~ *Pacificus* never draw the Sword, but even knight with it in the Scabbard, &c.

Lowman. Would the Papists (said I, to interrupt him) in any popish Country, where they were so much superior to the Protestants, as the Protestants in England are to the Papists, have ever suffer'd and borne with such, and so many Plots upon the Person of their Princes by the Protestants, without exterminating every Mother's Son of them, as were contriv'd to take the Lives of Q. Eliz. and K. William, and only the Contrivers punish'd? Or had the Gun-powder-Plot been laid in any popish Government by Protestant Subjects, would any of that Profession, guilty or not guilty, have been left alive? Or, would the R. Cs. in any Country, where they recover'd the Power, have, after a Massacre, I suppose of 100000 of them

them by Protestants, have suffer'd any one of their Race to live, and yet less have suffer'd ten of them to one of themselves, to have lived, and live now these 80 Years in the quiet and undisturb'd enjoyment of their Estates, and the free and publick Exercise of their Religion, when they abstain from Plots; as the Protestant Governments of *England* and *Ireland*, suffer the R. Cs. to do in these Kingdoms, and yet with much difficulty can restrain them from Plots and Machinations, upon the least apparent Occasion: But I have not said all this, as if in the least I disapprov'd of such Humanity in the Protestants: No, I mention it for their great Honour, and the Honour of their Christianity, that it can thus restrain Flesh and Blood, or Men's Passions so highly provok'd; and so distinguish itself in taking after our Saviour from the Church they left, and which hath left him. Honour, call you it, said *Churchill*. *Churchill*, it's Madness, and Folly, and Ruin, thus to dally with Popery: but since you tolerate other Dissenters, why not Papists too, and let all sink or swim together? This shall be remember'd, said *Freeborn* to *Churchill*, but I am loth to interrupt my Friend *Lowman*; you are now it seems for nothing that is Popish, but a Prince; however, Mr. *Lowman* is so good I know, as to allow me to put two Cases pertinent to what he was just now upon, and in my Reflections upon them, to appeal for the Truth of what I am to say, to the ingenuity of those honest R. Cs. with whom I have lived many Years beyond Sea, in great Friendships. The first Case I put, is, That bigotted Protestants had murder'd *Henry IV.* for his leaving their

Communion, and indeed sacrificing them and their Concerns as far as his other Interests and Passions would allow him to do it; as the bigotted *Spanish* Party amongst the *R. Cs.* in effect murder'd him for his not being, as they thought, Catholick enough, but secretly favouring the Hereticks. The other Case I put, is, That the Papists had actually succeeded in their Designs which they attempted so often of murdering first *Q. Elizabeth*, and then *K. William*. Now I appeal to the *R. Cs.* whom I have mention'd, if upon the first Event, any one Protestant, guilty or innocent, would have been left alive in *France*, whom their Party could destroy; and upon either of the last two Events, whether any *R. C.* would have suffer'd in his Person, but the guilty; no more than they did upon the Murder of Prince *William of Orange*, who was the Idol of the People in the *Seven Provinces*; and this notwithstanding the Associations made *in terrorem*, and which would have ended indeed in severe Laws for the future against the *R. Cs.* in general, which Self-defence would have made necessary.

Lowman. Here both *Mr. Churchill* and I gave our hearty Assents to what *Mr. Freeborn* had advanc'd, and were far from controverting, but that there were honest Men of the popish Communion, who wou'd agree with us in this, and indeed abhor and detest all Cruelty and indirect Means, as well as many other Maxims and Practices of the Court of *Rome*, and of the Society, as much as we ourselves did, or could do: But withal I added, that the Sentiments or Dispositions of particular Men amongst them could in no respect be reckon'd the true and governing

verning Spirit of those of their Communion. And therefore, to proceed, said I, to what is more home, to the main Point, the Danger we are in, than any thing yet mention'd; have not all the popish Governments in *Europe* extirpated the Protestants out of their Dominions, or are doing it, as fast as they can, without laying to their charge any Crime but barely their Religion; as in *Spain* and *Portugal*, and *Italy* and *France*, in *Flanders*, in *Bohemia* and *Silesia*, and all the Hereditary Countries; and *Poland*, and *Hungary*, and *Transylvania*, and in the *Palatinate*, and upon the *Rhine*?

On the other hand, Don't the Protestant Princes and Powers tolerate the *R. Cs.* almost every where, as in these three Kingdoms, notwithstanding the Massacres they committed in *Ireland*, and the perpetual Plots against the Government in *England*; but when it was theirs, and then they plotted with it, I may say ever since *Q. Elizabeth's* death: as also in the *United Provinces*, and in the Dominions of His Majesty in *Lower Saxony*, and those of the King of *Prussia*, and of the other protestant Princes, and free protestant Towns of *Germany*. If *Popery* is not tolerated under the *Northern Crowns*, where few or none of that Religion are to be found, yet there is no *Inquisition* in those Countries to hunt after their Blood, as there is in most popish Countries: Or, where it has not yet got footing, there are *Tribunals* not much inferior to it, for putting Hereticks to death.

But it's now high time to bring what I have been saying to the main Point, of showing the great Danger of *Popery's* prevailing once more:
for

for it being made evident that the Spirit of *Po-
pery* is for Extirpation, and does extirpate; and
that of the Protestants for Toleration, and
does tolerate; what can be the end of this, in
all probability, but the ruin of the Protestant
Interest in time?

Why the Court of *Rome* need only gain sin-
gle Profelytes, if they make a right Choice, as
they have done; for instance, in order to catch
a Protestant Prince, the Hook is to be baited
with a Popish Kingdom, and when the Fish is
caught, but the Kingdom is elective, in order to
the catching of the young Fry, the Hook must
be baited over again with the expectation of
the Kingdom's being made hereditary; as the
Stuarts were hook'd, if we'll believe Mr. *Free-
born*, with the bait of being made absolute.
Thus the Work goes on, and pray what is to
be done? Why even what is a doing, *Albero-
ni's* Advice to the *Propaganda*, is to be prosecu-
ted, that is, of making first all clean at home,
or that the Popish Powers shou'd extirpate He-
resy every where out of their Territories in
the first place; and being thus fortify'd, in or-
der to finish the Work, they are to unite or as-
sociate for making a Religious War, to extir-
pate or exterminate Heresy all the World o-
ver.

Freeborn.

Nay, cry'd Mr. *Freeborn*, I am fully per-
suaded they will force upon us Protestants,
such a War sooner or later; for the true Bi-
got Spirit, as well as the worldly wise Spirit,
that govern them, can never be satisfied with
less, than the Recovery of their Losses by the
Reformation. The Bigot Spirit reckons, they
can no other way make so sure of Heaven, as
by

by Hecatombs of Hereticks : and the worldly Spirit reckons, they can never be so sure of the Earth, as by having universal unbounded Dominion over it, the same they once had. But if it must be so, if they will needs have such a War, the sooner it is begun, the better: for tho', continu'd he, the maritime Powers, as they are call'd at *Vienna*, (that is, we and the *Dutch*) are in great Debt, that Debt is owing to ourselves, and our People will have patience, and retrench their Superfluities upon so great an Occasion; nor are the *R. C.* Powers without Debt, nor their People so able to bear additional Taxes as ours: and there is a Protestant Prince, who at present, for ought I know, is further out of Debt, to say no more, than any Prince in *Europe*; and who now that the Conquerors at *Belgrade* and *Temeswaer* have gone to their Rest in *Sicily*, has in all appearance the best Body of Troops in *Europe*, whom he regularly pays, and can pay, without oppressing his People; and who, to conclude the glorious State his Affairs are in, is fully dispos'd and resolv'd to employ it; reckoning it criminal, it seems, in the sight of Heaven, and unbecoming Majesty here upon Earth, as no doubt it is, to wrap up those Talents, which God in his kind Providence has trusted him with; to store them up, I say, to rust.

Here I begg'd Mr. *Freeborn's* leave to interrupt him; for I did indeed apprehend that in the warmth of his Zeal, he might go too far: for tho' I am of his Opinion, that all will end at last in a War, yet I am not for founding a Charge, but for keeping off the evil Day, as long as 'tis possible; for when that Day comes,

as

as I told him, whatever be the Event, which must after all be own'd to be doubtful; no such dreadful Calamity, no such universal and fatal Plague ever happened to *Europe*.

But to return to the more immediate Point I was upon, what had these Kingdoms to expect, or rather not to expect under their Popish Head, had not the Revolution interpos'd? And what has the Protestant Principality to expect from the Popish Head that governs them, and the Popish Kingdom that governs him, but the ~~State~~ of those of their Religion in that Kingdom; whom, to please his Clergy upon the Views he is said to be full of, and which it's like they have given him, he is undoing; or to speak with more respect, is suffering others to be undoing?

Freeborn. Undoing! cry'd *Freeborn*, say, *Butchering*: I speak of the *Assessorials*, and *Lubomirskies*, your *Jefferies* and *Kirks*, Mr. *Churchill*; pray give Things their true Names, and speak out; that they have indeed nothing to expect, but the Compliment *Polyphemus* made *Ulysses*, to be devour'd last; or not so much Favour possibly, nor indeed, humanly speaking, can the Event prove any other, unless some extraordinary Incident intervene, and interrupt the natural Course of Things; I mean, the otherwise unavoidable Operations of the Spirit of Popery in power: nay, even taking it for granted, that the Head is as much dispos'd for Moderation, as is pretended.

Churchill. Here Mr. *Churchill* took fire: You wou'd then have them, Mr. *Freeborn*, rebel against their natural Prince, I'll warrant you, according to your beloved Maxim, which you dun me perpetually

1 fake

petually with, that Obedience is the Rule, and
 Ruin the Exception. Faith, says Mr. Freeborn, Freeborn.
 turning to me, I know not what they can do
 better, if they be wise, and take a proper
 Season for doing it, that is, when their Ene-
 mies shall have made it evident; which surely
 they will not fail to do; that there is no other
 Remedy left them. But Mr. Churchill went Churchill
 on in his Passion, without regarding what Mr.
 Freeborn said; and addressing himself to me, I
 approve, said he, of your Moderation, but
 have no patience for my Friend's Heat. I love
 no Apostate, no more than he does; for, *Omnis*
Apostata est sua secta osor, and they are not to
 be trusted by either side: nor do I think an e-
 lected King to be *Jure divino*, or a King of
 God's making, unless he elect him himself,
 was he saying; when Freeborn burst out in a
 loud Laughter, and indeed it was with much
 difficulty that I cou'd keep my Countenance.
 Why, Nature will get the better one time or
 other, cry'd Freeborn; know you not, Mr. Chur- Freeborn
 chill, whom you are speaking of, when you
 thus give Names? But I remember how you
 High-Church-Men used K. James, when he
 did not please you. Pray own your selves, con-
 tinu'd he, Flesh and Blood; and that, in defi-
 nance of your sycophant Principles, you can
 make room for Self upon Occasion, and in the
 face of those Rules of uncondition'd Obedi-
 ence (as one of your Bishops worded an Address
 to K. James, to be sure when he was upon
 the Throne) upon which you value yourself so
 much to Princes, can thrust in your Exceptions
 as well as any of us warm Whigs or Rebels,
 and Republicans, as you call us; or your De-
 serters,

serters, as you dignify and distinguish such moderate Church-men, as Mr. Lowman.

Churchill.

No, not so fast, said Mr. Churchill, I was only speaking in general of Men, perverted from their Principles, when I used the Word Apostate; whom, and no other that change, I call so; and therefore cou'd not be thinking on any particular Person, or the Prince you mean, whose Heart, or Reasons for his changing, God knows best; I do not at all know. If it was Ambition, as you have intimated, Ambition in a Prince, passes for Heroick Vertue, and is indeed a pardonable Quality: or if it was Conscience, which I know you Common-Wealth's Men will make a Jest of in Princes, even Men not usually sick of a Disease, may have it by Fits. In a word, the Hearts of Princes are in the hands of God, and we leave them there; it's you Whigs that make bold with them, as if indeed you were their Judges, or cou'd judge of any Man's Heart. The Truth is, so far was I from failing in point of Respect to a crown'd Head, that I was going to tax you for doing it, as you'll be satisfy'd if you'll hear me out, for I was denying elected Princes to be Kings of God's own making, unless he elect them himself, as (I was going to add, when you interrupted me) he did Saul; and yet whom, tho' he proved a bad Prince, and whom God declared himself displeas'd with, and had in effect abdicated; David wou'd not venture to touch, as you Whigs, turning to Mr. Freeborn, he said, you'd have done, it's like, with a witness; I mean, have cut off his Head, after your landable manner: But still I am, as it appears David was, for pay-

paying Respect even to the Image or Picture of a King. Here Mr. Churchill made a short Stop, and then continu'd.

But now that I have vented the Passion that Mr. Freeborn's Heat put me in; what I intended to say in cold blood, was, that there is another Remedy than Revolutions or Rebellions, which prove often worse than the Disease: You know, said he, looking to me, how much Blood and Treasure two of 'em have cost these Kingdoms; for even your Idol, Mr. Freeborn, turning to him, hath cost 100,000 Men in Scotland and Ireland their Lives, or at least the ruin of them and their Families; and as for our Debt, we need not sum it up till it is to be paid *ad Calendas Græcas*. The true and effectual Remedy, said he, which I propose, is, that the Protestant Powers extirpate or exterminate in their turns.

Ho! cry'd Mr. Freeborn, now I forgive you Freeborn. all your scolding, and say what you please, I'll be friends with you, if you mean only Removes or Exchanges. No, not so fast, reply'd Mr. Churchill, my meaning is, that we Churchill. take away the Toleration, for I confess that you drive out of the Island the R. Cs. provided you send the Dissenters over Seas with them. I told you, it was the Toleration that had nursed up all the Divisions and Disorders that have happen'd amongst us, which have ruin'd true Loyalty and Religion in the Kingdom, and indeed almost Morality too, and converted the ancient Probity and Piety of the Nation, either into Hypocrisy and Grimace, or Libertinism and Prophaneness: away with Dissenters without distinction, whoever they be, and then

we shall all be of one Mind, and of one Religion ; and being thus united heart and hand, in one common Interest, need fear nothing.

Lowman.

Here I could not but with some warmth tell Mr. *Churchill*, that hitherto I had endeavour'd to shelter him from Mr. *Freeborn*, but if he was serious, in making such an extravagant Proposition, I must break with him, for it imported downright Ruin and Destruction ; for thus we shou'd do (which I was sure he wou'd not be for) as great Service to some of our Neighbours, as ever the Duke of *Alva* did us, the true Founder of our Trade, and indeed the best Friend it has ever had ; for to him it owes more than to all the Acts of Par-

Freeborn.

liament made in its favour. No, said *Freeborn*, interrupting me, what he proposes is as weak as wicked, and therefore let him alone ; possibly he only said this to provoke me, tho' I know he cou'd never endure the Toleration : but I love it as much as he hates it ; and therefore, pray hear me a few Minutes on the Subject. I wou'd gladly have you, Mr. *Churchill*, to consider, that it is Persecution, and not Toleration, that creates Disturbances in Societies ; Differences in Opinions, if let alone, will no more occasion Dissensions and Factions, than Difference of Complexions.

Mens Thoughts are in their Nature absolute and independent, neither other Mens, nor indeed their own in one Sense, for they are not Masters of them, cannot when they please change them, or otherwise get rid of them. No, Thoughts are only subject to God Almighty, who only knows them, and therefore shou'd be sacred and exempted from all Inquisitions by hu-

man Laws. A Man's Mind is his Sanctuary, his Asylum or City of Refuge, where he should be safe and at quiet; nor is Society at all concern'd what Thoughts I have, so long as I keep them within my own Breast; and therefore to force me to bring them forth, and having done it, to punish me for them, or to punish me for refusing to do it, was it not too much the practice of all Churches, Kirks, and Congregations, I should know what Name to give it: and indeed Mankind is so sensible of the Injury thus done them, that they have tacitly agreed to elude the design of such Institutions; for they have converted all Confessions and Articles of Faith, however worded, into Forms and Terms, or *Pacta convincta*, of Concord and Union. I never knew that Divine at home or abroad, or indeed any Man of Knowledge, who really believes throughout, either the Confessions or Articles of Faith which he had sign'd; nor do the R. Cs. believe the Council of *Trent*, nor the *Calvinists* the Synod of *Dort*, nor we the thirty nine Articles: and therefore Bishop *Burnet* in his Book on that Subject, the most thought on, and best guarded of all his Writings, in order to oblige his Brethren of the Clergy, did all he cou'd to shape the Shoe to their Foot; but rather than be made easy by him, that stiff-necked Generation wou'd chuse to be pinch'd, was it to death, to be in appearance consenting and assenting on to the Truth of some Articles, which at the same time they own, they don't believe one Word of.

But now as to Men's Thoughts, which they themselves of their own accord bring forth, and so convert into Actions; no doubt Acti-

ons generally speaking, are subject to the Magistrate: and more particularly they are so subject, First, in all Cases in which they are prejudicial to Society, and next whether they are prejudicial or no; if those whose Actions they are, reckon themselves Masters of them, and may in their Opinion, do them, or not do them.

Hence it follows, that all dogmatizing in Atheists or other Libertines, I mean Men of no Conscience, may be restrain'd or punish'd upon two Accounts, that is, both as prejudicial to Society, and as voluntary or spontaneous: for such Men having no Principles, cannot think themselves under any Ties to dogmatize and propagate their Poison; but I am not on this Pretence (for all Power is subject to be abused) for restraining either Free-thinking, or Free-talking in a harmless Sense, as comprehending the Innocent, tho' often extravagant Freedoms of Conversation; which are indeed the peculiar Birthright, as well as Diversion and Pastime of a free People: but I am against that mad and ridiculous Zeal some Men have to propagate their no Principles, and make Profelytes in order to form to themselves Parties, and to be at the head of them; as if any Party or Society (even that of Robbers, says *Cicero*) cou'd subsist without Laws or Ties, which Societies of such Men are incapable of.

The single Question then is, as to the Actions of those Men, who think themselves oblig'd by the Laws of God, to do what they do; and whose Actions do not directly interfere with the Good of Society; for if so, it is own'd, they are subject to the Magistrate.

Now

Now as to these Actions, all profession of Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, and consequently different Assemblies or Churches, and distinct Worships or Services, we find by experience, says Mr. *Churchill*, to interfere with Union and Peace, or Harmony amongst Men, and consequently with the Good of Society, which they confound with Animosities and Factions. Now here I deny the Fact, and Experience shews the contrary, wherever the Magistrate has done his Duty, and kept the Power in his own hands, as of old, and still amongst the Heathen, and at present in many Places where Christianity prevails, as in *Holland*, &c. But I frankly own the Fact, and the Experience (for I hate wrangling and chicane) wherever Churchmen have had Power to act independently on the Magistrate. Our Saviour foresaw and foretold this Consequence upon the publication of his Gospel, and advis'd his Followers to be on their guard against it; but I ask, if he did therefore abstain from publishing his Gospel, or did he, to prevent or remove the Consequence, prescribe to them Uniformity and Persecution in order to maintain it? and not rather Patience and Submission under their Sufferings from their Enemies, which he fairly warn'd them they were to expect, as also Love with mutual Forbearance amongst themselves; and left all matters of Government, bating general Rules, of Decency and Order, and doing every thing for Edification, or the common Good, to humane Prudence.

We agree then in the Fact, Mr. *Churchill* and I, but differ in the Cause; which he imputes
to

to Toleration, and to Persecution; that is, to the Spirit of the Clergy of all Denominations, when in Power and independent, and to the Magistrate's failing to do his Duty, by allowing them such Power, or conniving at their Exercise of it: And for a Proof of this, not to insist on the Comparison betwixt the present calm State of the *United Provinces*, and their Convulsions during the Synod of *Dort*; nor on that of these Kingdoms, since the *Revolution*, and the Disorders they were in, during the Prosecutions, as you call'd them, in *Charles the Second's* Reign; Comparisons that amount to plain Proofs: I'll give *Mr. Churchill* two Instances, the Truth of which I can vouch, which it's like he has never heard of.

In *Switzerland*, does not the Priest and Parson, with their People in several Places, take their turns of Worship in the same Church, and on the same Day, without the least shadow of Disorder, or Heart-burning; and without the Scruples of Bigots on both sides? for there are Brain-sick *Roman-Catholicks* capable of thinking the Church unhallow'd, and profan'd, by the sacrilegious Intrusion of Hereticks, incarnate Devils, as they reckon them; and would rather not worship God at all, than do it in such a Church. And so there are such like Brain-sick *Protestants* amongst us, who would reckon it partaking in idolatrous Worship, to serve God in the same Place that Idolaters had polluted; and to do it immediately upon their going out of it (*Liberate nos Domine!*) while the Place even smelt fresh of Idolatry. But all this notwithstanding, whoever travels through the Cantons of *Fribourg* and *Bern*, may, in the Villages

ges (*mi-parties*) half Popish and half Protestants, that are possess'd in common by them both, on the Sabbath, or any Holy-day, that is so to them both, see the Priest and the Parson, when the Work of the Day is over, go and take their Pot friendly together, and talk the News over it.

Thus it was that *Heydaker*, then Professor of Divinity at *Zurich*, and who was deservedly at the Head of the Protestant Clergy amongst the Cantons, as his Son is, with a peculiar Merit too, a Head amongst us in his way, tho' not of the Clergy, whom he hath not yet gain'd ; but of a Body, it seems, as unruly as they : Thus the Professor *Heydaker*, I say, came by the famous Letter in the Collection of State-Tracts, written by an *English* Jesuit in *Flanders*, to a Jesuit at *Fribourg*, which made great and seasonable Discoveries of what the late King *James* (then upon the Throne) with his *Irish* Priests, and his *Italian* Queen, that compos'd his wise Counsel, were about doing at that time ; and which has in it his remarkable Answer to the R. C. Quality of this Nation, who, as it appears by that Letter, much to their Honour, had the wisdom to have been praying him not to make such haste, he himself being old, and his Successors Protestants. The older I am, said he, I should make the greater haste, lest I leave you in a worse Condition than I found you in ; that is, barely I suppose he meant on the foot of Toleration, and not upon the Establishment : And as for Successors, he bid them take care of their own ; adding that God would take care of Successors for him, or provide Successors for him, *deHare-*

dibus meis Deus providebit. The true Spirit of Popery, that resolves to compass its Purpose *per fas aut nefas.*

- I have also another Story, continu'd Mr. Freeborn, that comes home to the present Point, which pray allow me to tell you. I myself have known a Person of Distinction, who being a General-Officer, was for some Years Governor of a Frontier Town beyond Sea, and of the adjacent Country, with 10000 Men of Regular Troops under his command; Men of all Nations and Religions, to whom he allow'd the free exercise of their several Religions; for he commanded absolutely, without controul, or other than general Orders. He regulated the Time and Place for their Assemblies, and strictly prohibited all dogmatizing, or scoffing at one another's Religion, and all Immoralities; and I have been credibly inform'd, that there was no more Dissension amongst them, upon the Subject of their Differences in Religion, than about the Colour of their Hair; and that one would not hear an Oath amongst them in a Month. And as to his Family, which consisted of near 140, bought for the most part in the Market, they in the same manner were made to meet in a Hall Morning and Evening, and there to serve God, each of them after his own Way, and Manner and Posture, without the least disturbance, or disorder; there being an Overseer that had the charge of them, a sort of Chaplain (but one of a new Creation) who once a Week, or upon Holy-days, read a Lecture to them upon moral Duties, and such Parts of Religion, natural or reveal'd, as they generally agreed in. I have
seen

seen the Orders in Writing, and those that have been Witnesses of the other good Effects of them, which I don't mention, for they would appear incredible. Thus it's plain, that it is the fault of the Magistrate, when difference of Opinion creates disturbance. Upon Mr. Freeborn's stopping here, I own, said Mr. Churchill Churchill.

to him, your two Stories are very extraordinary, and have fill'd my Head with so many new Thoughts, that I know not how to range them, and compose them. I'll help you to do it, said Freeborn, by stating the Case plainly and truly such as it is : All Churches, Kirks, and Sects, are persuaded every one of them, without exception, of two Truths, as they think : One is, that they are in the right, and have Truth on their side : The other is, that there is but one Truth, or one Saving Faith, that which they are in possession of. Now from these two Premises it evidently follows, and they cannot but think so, when they think consequentially that they only are in the way to Heaven, or in a State of Salvation ; and therefore that all others are out of the way, and in a State of Damnation ; which in fact is the Case in their Opinion : And this Foundation being laid, what is more natural for the prevailing Sect, than to think, as they usually do, all lawful, nay dutiful too, against the Bodies of those whose Souls they have given to the Devil ? No, no, cry'd Churchill, what you say is downright Popery ; at least we of the Church, I do not answer for others, pretend not to judge those without, but leave them to the Judgment of God Almighty. I own, answer'd Mr. Freeborn, the Freeborn.

Moderation of our Church in this Point, which is much for their honour: Nay, the Dissenters too begin to leave those that differ from them, to God's uncovenanted Mercy, as they speak. But still I ask both Church and Dissenters, if this softening and good Nature proceed from their Principles, and not rather from a Relaxation of Principles? Do not you all say, that there is no Salvation out of the Church, as well as the R. Cs? And does not every one of you by Church mean, as they do, his own Church, Kirk, or Congregation? And does not your Church, looking to Mr. Churchill, proclaim Damnation to all Dissenters in your *Athanasian* Creed? There I agree with you, said Mr. Churchill, and do heartily wish that damning Creed had been left out of our Liturgy: but there would be no end of changing, should we once give way to Clamour and Noise. I have nothing to say to that, said Mr. *Freeborn*; for I do not expect you'll mend: But to finish the Point I am upon. At the same time that all Religions in power are for Persecution, and against Toleration, all those under are for Toleration against Persecution, except the R. Cs. for to do them Justice, they act in this matter with more Ingenuity, than we Protestants; for when they are under, they accept indeed of the Benefit of Toleration, but they never renounce and disclaim their Principle of Persecution, as our People frankly do, but return to it as soon as they can.

Upon the whole matter, it seems but natural to think there shou'd be a Law or *Lex talionis*,

onis, made for all Persecutors of what Denomination soever; and which wou'd, if not put an end to Persecution, make it at least lawful: whereas it is now practised amongst Protestants, contrary to all Law and expresse Declarations against it, as the Prosecutors have felt; those I mean, who persecute not to death, as we say the Papiſts do, but barely to Ruin, as Goal, Banishment or Beggary. So Church prosecuted Kirk, and Kirk hath not lost their time in retaliating upon Church; nor cou'd the R. Cs. who never mince the matter, but are always for downright Persecution, Name and Thing, complain, shou'd they be used in the same manner as they full well deserve, which indeed (according to *Alberoni's* Advice) wou'd be an effectual way of dealing with them, as they themselves pretend they have been used in *Sweden* and *Denmark*, but which they must own too has had its natural effect there of Extirpation, as well as in *Spain* and *Portugal*, even without being attended with the Barbarities that are used in those Countries. The Truth is, to act by halves in such matters, amounts to nothing; but on the other hand it must be own'd, that if we have learn'd Christ at all, we have not so learn'd him, as I have read somewhere: for nothing is more evident than that Religion is a Free-will Offering; and that all Compulsion and Violence is equally contrary to the nature of the Thing, and to the Character or mind and pleasure of the Author of it; and it is evident also, that the true remedy is, that the Magistrate do his Office or Duty, which therefore our Saviour has left to him to do, without prescribing Uniformity, &c. or defining

fining and settling the bounds of Power, whether Civil or Ecclesiastick; and the Duty of the Magistrate is, that since no Church can bear independent Power, to take care that none of 'em have it; I mean, Power to persecute, or even prosecute; for whatever you think, Mr. Churchill, I am not against Discipline, or what Power is necessary for that, and for Decency and Order. And indeed it is strange, so much Zeal shou'd appear for reforming Men's Opinions, which we differ in and are not Masters of, neither we, nor they; and so little for reforming Men's Manners, that we all agree in to be often bad, and have in our power to mend in ourselves, and to make others mend in themselves.

Churchill. Here Mr. Freeborn stopping, I thank you heartily, looking to him, said Mr. Churchill, I own I wronged you in not expecting such Moderation from you; we are not so far distant, as I took us to be; but you were going to speak, said he, turning to me.

Lowman. I observ'd, said I, that Mr. Freeborn was weary with talking, and therefore I was going to finish this point of Toleration.

It must be own'd, I added that Union in Religion and Worship, is after all a most desirable State, and that the Magistrate does his Duty, in using all prudential means to prevent Differences about it, and much more Schisms, as they do in the Canton of *Berne* and elsewhere in *Switzerland*; yet shou'd such Differences once spread, there are but two Remedies, Extirpation or Toleration; and whatever be the Consequences of this last, which are often very bad, still it is preferable to the first. For what Right, in Reason

son or Nature, has any Man to persecute, or call it prosecute, me for my Opinion, which I am no more Master of than he is? Then all Persecution and Prosecution too, are contrary to the Character, Doctrine and Practice, or Example of our Saviour, as I have often said; and we ought to be satisfied with the World, such as God has made it, and who governs it, no doubt, to his own mind, or in a manner suited to his Purposes, with us his Creatures, whom he knows better than we do ourselves, and of the Justice of which manner, we shall be convinced in due time, when Wisdom is justified of her Children.

But pray go on, said Mr. Freeborn to me, and conclude your Reasons of the first Class, for I long (which I am persuaded Mr. Churchill does not) to hear those of the second Class. Yes, but I do, said Mr. Churchill, and Churchill. will hear them; you have told me so many things that I did not like to hear, that I am now prepared, and resolved to hear all either of you can, or will say, provided you keep within the bounds of good Manners, as now that I know you Mr. Lowman, I verily believe you will.

But in my humble Opinion, you have already said enough to shew the Event not only highly probable, which was all you pretended to do, by your Reasons of the first Class, but that it is morally certain; for you have proved if your Proofs be good (I own I cannot answer them) that the Spirit of Popery, and consequently the Government and Strength of Popery is more united, more wise, more zealous, more diligent, and indefatigable, more absolute

lute and powerful, and irresistible; and that it sticks at nothing to reach its Purposes: whereas the Spirit of the Reformation, or of the Protestants, is a divided Spirit, and divided against itself; has neither the Power, nor the Wisdom, nor the Zeal, nor the Industry of the other: and over and above all this, is destitute of a standing Authority to interpose and moderate matters upon Occasion; and which is worst of all, is full of private Conscience, or Judgement of Discretion, that is of Whim, or Caprice and Humour, that render all Government and indeed Society impracticable; for it stops and stumbles too at Straws, makes every Trifle the Cause of God, and so leaves no room for humane Prudence.

Lowman. All this, put Mr. Freehorn in a fury, and I was afraid that he wou'd have been on his Friend's Bones, instead of his Argument, which he had no patience for; but I prevented him, begging that I might defend myself. Mr. Churchill, said I, pray not so fast, and remember what you yourself said t'other day, after you had given me a full hearing, that what I had said, was but too true, and that you were heartily sorry for it. I can with the same Sincerity and Regret, own, that much of what you have now said, is but too too true; but suffer me to add, that such also was the case of Christianity upon our Saviour's Death, and yet worse: for then Christianity had against it all the standing Authority of the known World, as the Synagogue and the Pagan Worship, with Laws and Magistracy every where, as well as the Wisdom of the World, that of the Jews and Greeks, of Reason and
Reli-

Religion or Philosophy, against it too, as the Apostle owns: and in such a Condition is the Cause of Liberty at present, almost all over Europe, where Arbitrary Power prevails. And its true too, that Liberty naturally engenders Dissensions, and Factions, and indeed Convulsions at home and Wars abroad. Are not Emulation, Jealousy, and Envy, and other Interferings natural to all free People? Could ever the Liberty of one free Country accord with the Liberty of another? Witness the Wars betwixt Rome and Carthage, Athens and Lacedemon, Venice and Genoa, us and the Dutch, and formerly the Scotch. It is in vain to deny any thing of this; the true Answer is, that there is more than enough in Liberty to balance all this: still Liberty is the greatest Blessing that Heaven can bestow on a People, and even to a private Man, as Tacitus says, is one of the three *præcipua humani Animi bona*, that makes him happy; by which in both Cases, I am far from meaning Licentiousness, which is the Abuse and Corruption of Liberty; but a legal restrain'd Liberty, such as humane Nature wants, and proves both a help and a pleasure to it, being equally a Fence against bad unruly Passions, and a Fund for good ones.

which

It seems, indeed, to be by Heaven the appointed Lot of Piety, Vertue, and Liberty, and all that is good, to have for the most part, Wind and Tide against them, which Plato says is necessary both to form them and perfect them; and that there can be no Hero without Adversity. And did not our Saviour fore-warn his Followers, that his Doctrine, tho' otherwise in its nature the most peaceable

and beneficial ; and indeed in every sense the best, or much superior to any that was ever given to Mankind, the great Duties of it being universal Charity, or Love and Beneficence; would however, when publish'd, set the World on fire, *Father against Father, and Son against Son*, &c. and indeed give occasion for all sorts of Disorder? Which you know was the Lot of Christianity at first, the very same with that of the Reformation in the 16th Century, and which will appear in due time, when other Events follow, to have been foretold too, according to *Grotius's* Reflection on Prophecy.

Churchill.

But, said *Churchill*, the Christians had Miracles on their side to oppose to *Judaism* and *Philosophy*; which the Reformers have not, to

Lowman.

oppose to *Popery*. You are in a mistake, said I, we have those very Miracles you mean, on our side, having that Truth for us, which was then attested by those Miracles, and which is a strong Counter-ballance; otherwise I should yield to what you say, that the Event, even upon the Reasons given, would be morally certain : but Truth is strong, and must at last prevail, tho' indeed it may be eclips'd for a-while, or even buried in certain Places, as it is often stifled by Artifices and Cunning upon particular occasions.

Thus Truth being a heavy Weight, thrown into the Scale on the Protestant side, makes a great Counterpoise, without which, as there could have been no Reformation, so neither could any thing like it have subsisted so long ; and consequently the Event must not only have been morally certain, but already come to pass.

Here

Here Mr. *Freeborn* interrupted me: I have *Freeborn.* been admiring you, said he, all this time, for giving yourself the trouble to answer Mr. *Churchill*, whose business is only to prevent your going on to the Reasons of the Second Class. You have already, says he, said enough to prove the Event certain: What needs more? There's no occasion for going further, would he say, and in effect says. Nay, did you know him, Mr. *Lowman*, as I do, he would rather the Event was actually come, than that you should proceed to prove the Certainty of its coming, by reflecting on the *St---ts*, as he apprehends.

No, no, said Mr. *Churchill* to me, do as I do, *Churchill.* have no regard to my Friend's Passions, he knows me too well, to think in cold blood what he now says: Did not he make me a *Suffolk* Man the other day, even to burn at a Stake as they did? No, I am in good earnest, and do think as I told you, that if your Reasons are true, which I hope they are not, they are sufficient to prove the Certainty of the Event; and indeed, one Fact is enough: For if the *R. Cs.* convert the *Protestants* wherever they have Power, either into Hypocrites, or Galley-slaves, as they do in *France*; or into Ashes; as they do in *Spain*, and *Portugal*, and *Italy*, and have done in *Hungary* and *Transylvania*, and the Hereditary Dominions; and are doing in *Poland*, and wherever there remains still combustible Matter and Power to put fire to it: and that the *Protestants*, on the other hand, tolerate wherever they have Power the *R. Cs.* and what worse Hell can send us; both which Facts you have affirm'd, why then I ask you what you ask'd me the other day, What can

can the End be, but that in the next Generation, we shall be all as true Babes of Antichrist, as if we had suck'd on, and had never been wean'd from the Breasts of the great Whore? What you have to say in the Second Class, be what it will, being only conditional, as you propose it, may give a nearer View of the Event, possibly; for what has been, may be again, but that is all: and however, as I told you, I am resolv'd to hear you, at our next Meeting, I mean; for sure we have talk'd enough at this, and Supper is on the Table.



F I N I S.



